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Modelling the Public's Taste: Local Habits, Ethnic Pluralism and European Music in Bucharest (1821–1862)

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This article attempts to describe the shift in the Romanian public's musical taste brought about by musical borrowings and imports from the West. It focuses on the period between the end of Phanariot rule (1821) and the establishment of Romania's capital in Bucharest (1862). These decades of change yielded rich intercultural encounters and fusions, whereas the years that followed – from the 1870s to the outbreak of the First World War – show a more unified phase of assimilation of Western music.

After looking at the boyar class and the bourgeoisie of Bucharest (the social segment from which an opera- and concert-going public emerged in the last quarter of the century), I move on to the everyday musical practices of the population of Bucharest, using musical examples and travellers' accounts as a descriptive means. Finally, I analyse the shifts in musical tastes that took place in the upper layers of society as a complicated process of exclusion, inclusion and assimilation of various musical influences; as we shall see, the mixing and hybridization of musical practices not only shaped the tastes of music lovers, but also influenced the creation of Romanian music, which entered a new phase.

The coexistence of diverse musical cultures and intensive absorption of influences from abroad seem to be the chief characteristics of the nineteenth century in Bucharest. The city boasted a strong social and multi-ethnic dynamic, and its professional and institutional structures leaned towards westernization.[1] Migratory streams were open in both directions: on one side, young Romanians left for studies in 'Europe', and on the other, foreigners – Italians, Germans, English, French and Austrians – settled in Romanian territory in large numbers. Numerous foreign musicians were active in Romania, where they contributed to the make-up of princely military bands, philharmonic societies, musical theatres and conservatories.

By 1900 the centre of Bucharest had the glitter of a true capital city, with a European style of life and a cosmopolitan bourgeoisie receptive to the new, but a century earlier, in 1800, the picture was very different. What differed was not the splendour and opulence of the rich townsfolk or the level of education enjoyed by the upper classes (trained according to the principles of Greek higher education), but rather the type of education and the almost complete enclosure within the patriarchal traditionalism of the 'oriental'[2] world. Mobility, communication with

[1] Of considerable value was permission to travel in Western countries, not granted until after 1821; see Florea Ioncioaia: 'Das Bild Europas in den rumänischen Fürstentümern (1800–1830)', in *Die Rumänen und Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997): 106–13.

[2] The term 'oriental' is here employed in the sense usual in Romanian musicology, denoting urban musical culture prior to Europeanization and incorporating the various

the West, the bourgeois revolution, reforms, the founding of the new state of Romania from the union of Wallachia and Moldavia (1859), and its transformation into a Kingdom under a sovereign from the House of Hohenzollern (1866) were to change things radically. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bucharest had been transformed from a city with a multi-ethnic petty bourgeoisie to one with an haute bourgeoisie interested in concert music. But if *fin de siècle* cosmopolitanism differed from the multi-cultural patchwork of the first decades of the century, then this was due to a profound change in the Romanians' self-image.

The Boyars and Bourgeoisie in Multi-Cultural Bucharest

Numerous studies have shown the importance of travel literature in gradually shaping knowledge of the Balkans and South-East Europe in the nineteenth century.[3] It was thanks to travellers, scientific expeditions and diplomats that the West 'discovered' Turkey and Greece before it did the Romanian Lands, which were regions of transit and at the same time the periphery of three empires keen to extend their influence: Ottoman, Austrian and Russian. Bucharest was situated in southern Wallachia, approximately 39 miles from the frontier post with the Ottoman Empire (now the border with Bulgaria) at Giurgiu, on the northern bank of the Danube.

Despite including some superficial, subjective, incomplete and even fictive information, the accounts left by foreign travellers abound in observations of foreign elements in the local society.[4] Whether in transit through the Romanian Lands or settled there temporarily, the authors describe the life of the local inhabitants with an eye for the exotic. The snapshots of everyday life are sometimes random and subjective. The quotations are descriptive and do not go deeper than the surface. Taken together, they constitute not a page of history, but only brief fragments. Nevertheless, these fleeting views combine to provide a coherent image, redolent of the ambience of the age, in which may be glimpsed the musical habits that formed a part of the social lives of the people of Bucharest.

The topos of diversity is also to be found in highly different contexts in travel diaries. It was not difficult to observe that the very composition of society itself was heterogeneous, and dwelling places, costumes and customs were eclectic. The language spoken in the towns was 'mixed' and, like costume, displayed 'the most bizarre combination'[5] of Slavic, Turkish and demotic Greek elements, alongside French, Italian, German and other new influences. This eclecticism extended to

influences of Constantinopolitan culture, mostly the post-Byzantine, Greek and Turkish. This is discussed further below.

[3] See for instance Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 62–88 and Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, eds, *Balkan Departures: Travel Writing from Southeastern Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

[4] I have drawn upon travel diaries as a unitary body of sources, but my study does not set out to undertake a systematic analysis of travel literature. I had access to the travel literature held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, thanks to a research grant from the Centre Internationale de Récherche Européene, Université de Paris, Sorbonne IV, as a stage in the research project funded by the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research: 'Musik im Privatmilieu. Eine Untersuchung aus der Sicht interkultureller Beziehungen zwischen Mitteleuropa und dem Balkan', based at the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Vienna (2007–2010).

[5] In the words of Transylvanian Ion Codru Drăguşanu, quoted in Stefan Cazimir, *Alfabetul de tranziţie* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2006): 87.

musical practices. Even if musical pursuits did not especially draw their attention, Western travellers often describe elements specific to their own cultures (e.g. music-making at home, opera performances), which they were surprised to encounter in such a faraway land. Furthermore, the authors frequently point out the presence of foreigners and non-Romanian ethnic groups, perhaps due to their economic significance.[6] Although the statistical figures they provide are inaccurate,[7] they help us to outline the socio-historical background of the musical pluralism we shall discuss below.

About the demography and ethnic makeup of the city of Bucharest, travellers remark upon the foreign element in every social stratum, from landowners and bankers to the common people. For example, an epistolary report sent to the Prince of Wallachia, Ioan Gheorghe Caragea (1754–1844, r. 1812–18), by his former secretary François Recordon, lists the ethnic groups that made up the population of Wallachia: 'More than 80,000 individuals who are absolutely foreign to the nation, being for the most part Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Russians, Jews, Serbs, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Transylvanians and even Frenchmen and Italians, and finally the race of Gypsies'.[8] F.G. Laurençon, who learned to speak Romanian during the 12 years he spent in Wallachia, claims that the political class is largely of foreign origin,[9] and refers elsewhere to many

[6] Given that immigrants dominated the world of commerce, trades and crafts in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the multi-ethnic mix was regarded as a factor that fostered economic progress. Many travellers were therefore interested in economic and demographic statistics.

[7] See Ioan Caproşu and Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, eds, *Documente statistice privitoare la oraşul Iaşi*, vol. 1: *1755–1820* (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 1997): 12, n. 14.

[8] 'Plus de 80.000 individus qui sont absolument étrangers à la nation, étant la plupart grecs, arméniens, allemands, russes, juifs, serviens, bulgares, hongrois, transylvains, même français, italiens ou enfin de la race des Tziganes'. François Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie ou Observations sur cette province et ses habitants, écrites de 1815 à 1821, avec la relation des derniers événemens* (sic) *qui y ont lieu* (Paris: Lecointe et Durey, 1821): 1. Somewhat later, in the 1830s, Russian prince Anatol Demidov reckoned that there were 2,583 Jews living in Bucharest with their families, 1,795 *sudditi* (Italian *suddito*, 'foreign subject') and between 10,000 and 20,000 persons in transit through Wallachia, see Anatole de Demidov, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie* (Paris: Bourdin, 1854). An earlier edition (1840) revises letters published in *Esquisse d'un voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée* (Paris, 1838); see Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători* (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1981): 528. Demidov's data are similar to those that result from the census of 1830: Bucharest had a population of 70,000, of which 1,795 were foreign subjects: 1,226 Austrian, 236 Russian, 158 Prussian, 94 English, 80 French, and 2,301 Jewish. See *Enciclopedia României*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Imprimeria Naţională, 1938): 556–7, quoted by Adrian Majuru, *Bucureştii mahalalelor sau periferia ca mod de existenţă* (Bucharest: Compania, 2003): 152. Another pre-statistical record (*catagrafie*) of 1838 reveals that Bucharest had 63,644 inhabitants, see Radu Olteanu, *Bucureştii în date şi întâmplări* (Bucharest: Paideia, 2002): 148.

[9] F.G. Laurençon, *Nouvelles Observations sur la Valachie, sur ses productions, son commerce, les moeurs et les coutumes des habitans (sic), et sur son gouvernement* (Paris: A. Egron, 1822): 22. Most of the boyars (with the exception of the important old native families) are supposed to be Greek or Albanian. Laurençon's impressions are not borne out by the most recent research, which shows that after 1822 the number of Greek boyars in the divan (government) of Wallachia fell from 22 per cent to 9 per cent of the total, while the percentage of native boyars remained unchanged, at 70 per cent. See Ioan Ionaşcu, 'L'influence des Grecs des Principautés roumaines', in *L'époque phanariote*

of the Greek merchants, bankers and language teachers employed as tutors in boyar households.[10] Eugène Poujade describes the Jewish minority, who were granted religious freedom but forbidden to own land. In the provinces, the Jews were segregated from Christian society, but in Bucharest, according to Poujade, 'Jewish bankers are received in every house'.[11]

Music mostly played a secondary role in travellers' accounts. Like a leitmotif, the foreign element complemented the native at every social level, be it in the ceremonial of welcome or in the atmosphere of parties. The diversity of influences that coloured the locals' habitus is not merely a backdrop here, but a constitutive part of musical culture.[12]

As travellers chiefly came into contact with the boyar class, we shall first look at the music played within public and private settings in the upper echelons of society. In Romanian, the word 'boyar' denotes both a landowner, not necessarily of noble lineage, and a holder of a high position in the state (*dregătorie*),[13]

(Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974), quoted by Neagu Djuvara, *Intre Orient şi Occident: Tările Române la începutul epocii moderne* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1995; first published in French as *Le pays roumain entre Orient et Occident. Les Principautés Danubiennes au début du XIXe siècle* (Cergy-Pontoise: Publications orientalistes de France, 1989)): 135, n. 47. Among the landowners of Muntenia there also were families of Serbs: the Obrenović, Simić and Ghermani families; see Eugène Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs, scènes et souvenirs de la vie politique, militaire et religieuse en Orient* (Paris: Didier, 1859), quoted by Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 584.

[10] The Albanians were landowners and small traders. There were numerous German craftsmen, Armenian jewellers and Jews living in all the towns, but particularly in Bucharest. The French and Italians were too few to be worthy of mention. And finally, there were the Gypsies, some of whom formed groups of musicians, while others told fortunes or danced with a bear to music played on cheap fiddles and to the rhythm of a tambourine, see Laurençon, *Nouvelles Observations*, 23, 24 and 26.

[11] Eugène Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs,* quoted by Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 585. Austrian and German immigrants served as skilled employees in medical, pharmaceutical, technical, musical and other professional fields; see Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa*, vol. 4 (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1965): 71.

[12] During his sojourn in Bucharest, J.M. Lejeune, a private tutor at the court of the Prince of Moldavia, Mihail Suţu II (Soutzo) (1784–1864, r. 1819–21), remarked upon the blend of Russian and French influences that were cultivated by the locals along with oriental and, of course, native customs. The blend of influences would have been easy to observe in interior design, culinary recipes and the manner in which balls were organized. The women followed now the German, now the French fashion, dressed with taste and danced 'avec un certain abandon qui leur est naturel'; see J. Raicevich, *Voyage en Valachie et en Moldavie, avec des observations sur l'histoire, la physique et la politique, augmenté de notes et additions pour l'intelligence de divers points essentiels, traduit de l'italien par M.J.M. Lejeune* (Paris: Masson et fils, 1822): 144, n. 1. For Robert Walsh (1772–1852), an Anglican pastor resident in Constantinople in 1821, the Bucharest of the 1820s was already 'a modern city, a Paris of European Turkey'; see Robert Walsh, *Voyage de Constantinople en Angleterre par les Balkans, le Danube, la Hongrie et l'Allemagne (1821–1825),* in *Voyage en Europe* (Paris: impr. de Gaittet et Cie, n.d.): 14. With a population of 80,000, according to the author, the Wallachian capital was 'the meeting place of oriental and European manners. Half the inhabitants wear top hats and frock coats, the other half kalpaks and kaftans', ibid., 26.

[13] The Romanian word *boier* derived from the Slavic 'boljarinŭ'; see Nicolae Breban, 'Boyars', in *Dicţionar general al limbii române* (Bucharest: Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1987): 111. Some of the official functions of the grand boyars (*dregători*) at the princely court were: *Ban of Craiova* (governor), *dvornik* (minister of the interior), *logothete* (head of

conferred by the ruling prince along with a noble title and exemption from taxes. Although the noble titles were not hereditary, in time a 'grand boyar class' arose (2.2 per cent in Wallachia according to a statistic from 1859),[14] made up of families that held high positions at court over successive generations. The middling and petty boyars (*boiernaş*) were regarded as being of low rank. The different levels of the boyar titles had been established by the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century the boyar class included individuals of varying degrees of wealth, some of them coming from a bourgeois or even peasant background. Rich merchants and bankers were part of the upper class in the towns, but as they were not exempted from taxes they were not 'boyars' in the proper sense. The closeness between the boyar class and the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century resulted in a similar lifestyle, and was maintained by the procedure for obtaining titles and positions. In the mid-nineteenth century, shortly before boyar privileges were abolished, honorific titles were still being bestowed: for example, *kappelmeister* Ioan Andrei Wachmann received the title of *Pitar al Valahiei* (*Pitar* of Wallachia).[15]

In the present study I shall look mainly at the musical preferences and practices of educated city dwellers; the focus of the research will be not the boyars but the bourgeoisie. After 1821, the open border drew to the Wallachian towns foreign entrepreneurs and merchants knowledgeable in the various trades that were then in demand. These immigrants included dozens of writers, artists, musicians and private tutors, who can be found in the public and private records of life of Bucharest in this period.[16] From a sociological perspective, immigration therefore

chancellery, minister of justice), *spatharius* (head of the army), *vistiernic* (minister of finances), and *postelnik* (minister of the exterior).

[14] Dora d'Istria, *Les femmes en Orient*, vol. 1 (Zurich: Meyer & Zeller, 1859): 56.

[15] In the hierarchy of the offices of the mediaeval court, the *pitar* was responsible for the bread supply; in the eighteenth century the *pitar* was regarded as a second-rank boyar and did not fulfil any particular function. The boyar ranks and titles were gradually phased out by the end of the 1850s as a result of the Paris Treaty (19 August 1855). On Wachmann, see Viorel Cosma, 'Wachmann, Ioan Andrei', in *Lexiconul muzicienilor români*, vol. 9 (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 2006): 285–9.

[16] Prominent among them were conductor and opera singer Pietro Ferlendis (Padova, 1800–Craiova, 1848); conductor and composer Ioan Andrei Wachmann and his son, Eduard Wachmann; opera singer, conductor and professor Benedetto Franchetti (Mantua, 1824–Bucharest, 1894); kapellmeister and virtuoso violinist Ludwig Anton Wiest (Vienna, 1819–Bucharest, 1889); music editor Alexius Gebauer (Cluj, Transylvania, now Romania, 1815–Bucharest, 1889) and his son Constantin Gebauer (Bucharest, 1846–1920); kapellmeisters Eduard Hübsch (Bitse Trenčin, Slovakia [?], 1833–Sinaia, Romania, 1894), Anton Kratochwil Senior (Brno, Moravia, now Czech Republic, 1829–Bucharest, 1920) and Anton Kratochwil junior (Brno, 1854–Târgu Frumos, Iaşi, 1917), Theodor Fuchs (Sassin, now Šaštín-Stráže, Slovakia 1873–Bucharest, 1953). Other immigrant musicians were active in Iaşi: composer and teacher Elena Teyber-Asachi (Vienna, 1789–Iaşi, 1877); kapellmeister Franz Ruzitski (Vienna, 1785–Iaşi, 1860?); kapellmeister Josef Herfner (Bratislava, 1795–Iaşi, 1865); composer Carol Miculi (Cernăuţi [now Chernivtsi, Ukraine], 1821–Lemberg [now L'viv, Ukraine], 1897); music teacher Franz Seraphim Caudella (Vienna, 1812–Iaşi, 1868) and his son, composer Eduard Caudella, kapellmeister Emil Lehr (Munich, 1848–Iaşi 1904), and others. Musicians who had been educated abroad included the Transylvanian Saxon Alexander Flechtenmacher, violonist and composer Robert Klenck (Bucharest, 1850–1921), but also composers of Romanian origin such as Ciprian Vorobchievici Porumbescu, George Stephănescu, Constantin Dimitrescu, Dumitru Georgescu Kiriac, Tudor Flondor (Storojineţ, Bukovina, 1862–Schlachtensee, Germany, 1908) and George Enescu.

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contributed to a growing urban bourgeoisie that frequented theatres, concerts and the like, and also made music in their homes.

Although European elements were few, the mixture of ethnic influences and the hybridity and eclecticism of everyday life were striking, even prior to the 1820s and the wave of reforms that would later be unleashed.[17] In the first phase, European music and dances found their way to the salons of the Romanian boyars thanks to contact with Russian officers during the occupation of 1806–12.[18] Nevertheless, the move towards 'Europe' was possible only when the grip of Ottoman power,[19] which had restricted communications with the West, had loosened. Over the course of the following decades, not only was the musical and artistic scene largely made up of foreigners, but numerous 'musical products' were imported from the West. Demand was on the rise for imports of all kinds, especially musical ones from centres such as Paris, Vienna and Leipzig. At the same time, older musical traditions (examined briefly in the sub-section that follows) continued to thrive.

Diversity of Musical Pursuits: Brief Overview of the Main Categories of Non-Western Music

Before recreating the period atmosphere and the social context of musical practices with the help of travel diaries, let us look briefly at the characteristics of the various categories of non-classical music, which will be discussed below: *folk music* from the Wallachia region,[20] *the music of the lăutari* (fiddlers), and so-called '*oriental music*'.

Regional or folk music was drawn from the musical repertory of the peasantry of Wallachia, including the particularly rich folk culture of Oltenia. This repertory began to be familiar to the educated urban class in the nineteenth century via songs and dances in particular: numerous folk quotations are to be heard in pieces for piano, orchestra and musical theatre. Although rural in origin, these melodies were collected from urban *lăutari*[21] by musicians with a European musical education, most of them immigrants to Bucharest working as instrumentalists, conductors or music teachers. They recorded the melodies without any indication of their source and without the original words. They also altered the melodies: stylizing, simplifying and adapting them to the Western musical system, to the notation and acoustic properties of the

[17] The external signs of a move towards 'Europe' penetrated slowly; for example European fashions first found expression in women's dress, and appeared more slowly in men's, perhaps because men who held high office, in particular, were fearful of arousing Turkish suspicion, see Djuvara, *Intre Orient şi Occident*, 59.

[18] Djuvara, *Intre Orient şi Occident*, 110.

[19] Following the peace treaties signed by Austria, Turkey and Russia at Küçük Kaynarca (1774) and Edirne (Adrianopolis, 1829).

[20] The historical province between the Danube to the south and east, the River Olt to the west, and the Carpathians and the Principality of Moldavia to the north is more frequently named Muntenia or the Romanian Land. The Rivers Siret and Milcov form a natural border with Moldavia, the principality with which Wallachia was unified in 1859 to form the modern state of Romania (a name which was adopted in 1862); beyond the Olt stretches the region of Oltenia (or Lesser Wallachia).

[21] See Gheorghe Oprea and Larisa Agapie, *Folclor muzical românesc*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura didactică şi pedagogică, 1983): 14–15. The exception to urban collection is Teodor T. Burada, who collected peasant folklore in villages.

instrument/orchestra available, to the didactic demands of their pupils, and to public expectations.[22]

The *lăutari* were usually Gypsy slaves or freemen. They lived and performed in villages as well as towns, and thus brought elements of the village repertoire to the boyar houses and to urban entertainments of every kind. Music was their profession, and they excelled as virtuosos, performing and recreating various melodies through improvisation and variation. In the nineteenth century, besides virtuoso improvisation in chromatic and folk modes, the music of the *lăutari* also encompassed 'fashionable' European genres such as *romanzas*, patriotic revolutionary songs and opera arias, and the *lăutari* passed on village melodies in versions that they altered to a greater or lesser extent. Mostly accompanied by a *taraf*, a small instrumental ensemble usually consisting of violins, pan pipes and a *cobza*, fiddler music presented a stylistic *mélange* of Turkish, Balkan, European and folk elements.[23] In 1864 Bucharest writer and musical journalist Nicolae Filimon described such hybrid musical works, which he claimed were fashionable between 1830 and 1858, as 'amphibious compositions', the results of a multi-cultural syncretism.[24]

Finally, 'oriental music' is a vague and general term that denotes a repertoire of Constantinopolitan origin and its influences on the local musical culture. In this category may be included a secular repertoire consisting of vocal[25] and instrumental pieces generally described as Turkish or Greek, and sometimes even as Persian or Arabic, which were familiar to and enjoyed by the boyars, who sometimes also performed them on instruments associated with oriental classical music.[26]

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[22] The structural features of Romanian folk music are far too complex to be summarized here. I shall outline, below, a few features of tonality that reveal a regional individuality in the samples of Wallachian melodies notated in albums for piano.

[23] Widely found in Wallachia, Moldavia and Bukovina, the *cobza* was a stringed accompaniment instrument in traditional fiddler music. The instrument was played by pressing the strings with all fingers of the left hand, and simultaneously plucking them with a goose feather in the right hand. See Tiberiu Alexandru, 'Cobza' in *Dicţionar de termeni muzicali* (Bucharest: Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1984): 103–04. For information about the professional groups of *lăutari* on the boyar and monastic estates of Wallachia and Moldavia, and about *psalţi* (church cantors in the post-Byzantine tradition of ecclesiastical chant), see Nicolae Gheorghiţă, 'Secular Music at the Romanian Princely Courts during the Phanariot Epoch (1711–1821)', in *Byzantine Chant between Constantinople and The Danubian Principalities: Studies in Byzantine Musicology* (Bucharest: Sophia, 2010): 57–64.

[24] Nicolae Filimon, 'Lăutarii şi compoziţiunile lor', *Buciumul* 2, no. 311 (21 November–3 December 1864): 1241–2, reprinted in George Baiculescu, *Activitatea folcloristică a lui Nicolae Filimon* (Bucharest: Editura Bucovina, 1941): 60–66.

[25] Non-religious songs recorded in psaltic notation occur in numerous manuscripts and printed works from the first half of the nineteenth century preserved in Bucharest. As late as 1860, songs were still being printed in psaltic notation, and alongside Romanian melodies there may also be found Italian arias and Arabic songs. See Gheorghe Ciobanu's introductory essay to *Anton Pann, Cîntece de lume – transcriere din psaltică în notaţie modernă* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă, 1954): 41. Ciobanu refers to Oprea Dumitrescu's *Melodii romîne, italiene şi arabe*, Brochure 1 (Bucharest, unknown publisher, 1860): 86, n. 55.

[26] One famous eighteenth-century example is Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), Prince of Moldavia in March–April 1693 and 1710–1711, a theorist of Turkish classical music and a renowned performer on the Turkish long-necked lute, the *tanbûr*. On the connection between musical culture in the capitals of Wallachia (Bucharest), Moldavia (Iaşi) and Constantinople, see Gheorghiţă, 'Secular Music', 38–56.

We find the most eloquent examples of local/regional and non-European influences on the secular vocal music of nineteenth-century Bucharest in the 'worldly songs' that set anonymous folk poetry and poems by Greek and Romanian authors.[27] Such 'mixtures' of post-Byzantine *melos* and Romanian folk music – of 'oriental' and European – can be found in the collections published in 1850[28] by Anton Pann, a musician wholly characteristic of the Bucharest of the first half of the nineteenth century, who in addition to Romanian spoke Turkish, Greek and 'a little Russian'.[29] As I shall argue below, the worldly songs in his collection were popular at boyar balls, meals, weddings, garden parties and promenades in parks and vineyards. And the genre was enjoyed not only by boyars, but also by the capital's poorer inhabitants. Worldly songs were performed by *lăutari* or cantors educated in post-Byzantine schools of church music and might be accompanied by a *cobza* or by a *taraf*. Like fiddler music, the genre – situated at the intersection of the classical music of the eighteenth-century Greek-Turkish elites and the Wallachian folk song and European ballad – incorporates a host of styles, themes and styles of playing. Nevertheless, unlike fiddler music, which was transmitted orally, and therefore closer to the sphere of 'folk' music, the worldly songs were in large part cultured creations, composed and/or notated by literate musicians, using post-Byzantine notation. Literary historians apply the term 'worldly songs' to poems from the period between 1800 and 1830, the texts in question being mainly love poems; in general, the epithet 'worldly' (*de lume*) points to the poems' non-religious nature. Their musical vestment was essentially Greek/Turkish/Persian/Arabic, to which were added village or European influences. These European influences were similar in character to ballads or opera arias. There were different varieties or sub-genres of the worldly song, whose titles now have a distinctly old-fashioned flavour: *cîntare veselitoare* (gladdening song), *versuri desfătătoare* (delightful verses), *cîntec de soţietate* (society song), *romansă* (romanza), *irmoase ce se cîntă după masă* (religious hymns to be sung after dinner), cînt teatral, *cîntec de mahala* (suburban song), *cîntece de petrecere* (party songs), *canţonete* (canzonettas).[30]

Let us look at a 'worldly song' that shows the influence of 'oriental' music (Ex. 1): a setting of a poem by Costache Conaki (1777–1849), from the Olimbiadi Monahi Tudori manuscript.[31]

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[27] Many of the 'worldly songs' handed down via printed works and manuscripts are accompaniments to lyrics written by famous poets of the time (the Văcărescu Brothers, Costake Conaki). The term had previously been literary; see Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1: *Culegeri de folclor şi cîntece de lume* (Bucharest: Editura muzicală, 1976): 219. At Note 1 the author mentions the difference between the 'worldly song' and the 'folk song' (*cîntecul popular*, the term used in the 1840s by the 1848 revolutionaries to refer to music and lyrics created in the villages) and the difference between the 'national arias' (which also came into use before the 1848 Revolution) and the term folklore, which was not introduced until the end of the nineteenth century. On the authors of the lyrics to the songs in Romanian and Greek manuscripts and printed music, see Gheorghiţă, 'Secular Music', 64–6.

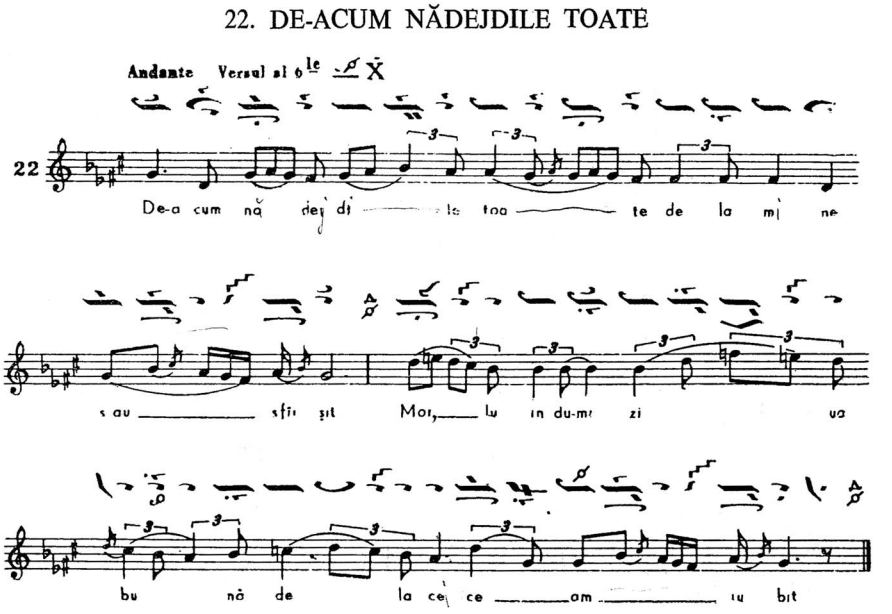
[28] Anton Pann, *Spitalul amorului sau Cîntătorul dorului*, brochures I and II (Bucharest, 1850) and brochures I–VI (Bucharest, 1852).

[29] Paul Cornea, 'Un Anacreon în papuci', in *Anton Pann: Spitalul amorului sau Cîntătorul dorului* (Bucharest: Compania, 2009): vii.

[30] Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 220.

[31] 199v–200r. The manuscript is described by Gheorghe Ciobanu in *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 221. According to the author, the manuscript was bound in 1835 and includes religious songs, the majority in Greek; between 198v and 202v are notated six worldly songs, included that reproduced here.

Ex. 1 'De-acum nădejdile toate' (Henceforth all hopes), transcribed from the psaltic notation by Gheorghe Ciobanu in *Izvoare ale muzicii romanesti*, vol. 1, p. 243.[32]



The song has four melodic lines with the following text:

De-acum nădejdile toate (Henceforth all hopes)
De la mine s-au sfîrşit (From me have fallen away)
Mor, luîndu-mi ziua bună (I die, bidding farewell)
De la cei ce am iubit. (To those I have loved)

The song is written in the sixth mode (ἦχος)[33] with the tonic on G (*di* according to the names of the steps in the Byzantine modes[34]), exceeding the range of an octave, and therefore corresponding to the larger scale, which occasions modifications in the intonation of some of the steps.[35] The first, second and fourth lines are written in the chromatic scale of the sixth voice (tetrachords 1 and 2), with the tonic of G. Given that some notes are missing from the tetrachords of the scale or are altered, the melody is partly de-chromaticized (lacking the specific chromatic

[32] Reproduced from Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 243.

[33] In Byzantine music the *êikhos* (Romanian: *eh*) was 'the model melodic schema proper to each of the eight groups of Byzantine chants, and might be defined as a complex of elements: a musical scale with its own structure, system of cadences, specific melodic formulas. This system originates in ancient practice and Hellenic theory, in combination with and augmented over time by the practice of the Middle East', see Nicolae Necula, 'Eh', in *Dicţionar de muzică bisericească românească* (Bucharest: Ed. Basilica, 2013): 258.

[34] The steps of the Byzantine *êikhoi* are named as follows in psaltic music: *ni* (c), *pa* (d), *vu* (e), *ga* (f). *di* (g), *ke* (a), *zo* (h).

[35] See Nicolae Lungu, Gr. Costea and I. Croitoru, *Gramatica muzicii psaltice: Studiu comparativ cu notaţia lineară* (Bucharest: Editura Institutului biblic şi de misiune ortodoxă, 1969): 96.

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step, i.e. augmented seconds). Lines two and four end with a repeated cadence. Chromatism is present in the third line, which unfolds in tetrachord 2 and the upper modified tetrachord. On the word 'bu-nă' there occurs the enharmonic *phthora agem*,[36] indicating the intonation of a quarter tone from c *(ni)* to *h (zo)*, i.e. a higher, untempered *b.*

Researchers Gheorghe Ciobanu and Vasile Nicolescu distinguish 'oriental' worldly songs from those that are obviously of 'Western' influence given the structural particularities of the former: rich ornamentation; binary metre; irregular accents; lack of metrical pulsation; possibly uneven divisions (groups of melismatic notes intoned on a single syllable, like triplets, quintuplets or asymmetrical formulas); form lent by the melodic lines; use of specific scales and cadences; major or minor diatonic modes (*êikhoi*), e.g. Dorian on D or Phrygian on E;[37] various chromatic modes, where augmented seconds occur, with transitions between modes, between diatonic–chromatic and inflections in so-called 'enharmonic' modes, characterized by quarter tones (named *agem*, *hisar*[38] and *nisabur*).[39] Songs with 'Western' influence (see Ex. 2) reveal mainly diatonic intonations (but not excluding the chromatic, just as the 'oriental' songs may also have lengthy diatonic passages), a tendency toward syllabic (less ornamented) melody, possibly symmetrical rhythmic/melodic motifs, divisible rhythms, and regular metre.[40] The mode of the song 'Tu-mi ziceai odată' (Ex. 2), described as a 'romanza' in Anton Pann's collection *Spitalul amorului sau Cîntătorul dorului* (The Hospital of Love or the Singer of Yearning),[41] corresponds to the scale of d minor harmonic, and the fourth step (G♯) is fleetingly raised (bar 7). The text is by C.A. Rosetti, a poet and publicist, and one of the boyars' sons who led the 1848 Revolution in Wallachia. It is a love poem, the lament of a lover wounded by an unfaithful mistress. I quote only the first four lines:

> Tu-mi ziceai odată cum că pîn' la moarte (Thou once used to tell me that till the death)
> Dragostea ta toată mie-mi vei păstra (Thou wouldst preserve all thy love for me)
> Mă uitaşi pe mine, le uitaşi pe toate (Thou didst forget me, thou didst forget everything)
> Astfel merge lumea, nu e vina ta. (This is the way the world goes, the blame is not thine.)

Musical Practices in the Context of Everyday Life

Against this backdrop, we may view musical practices in the everyday life of the people of Bucharest as those practices were observed by foreign travellers.

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[36] In psaltic music the *phthora* (Greek: φθορα = alteration) is a sign that indicates an alteration in the intonation of the notes or a modulation from one mode to another.

[37] Vasile D. Nicolescu, *Manuscrisul Ucenescu: Cânturi* (Bucharest: Editura muzicală, 1979): 49.

[38] The major modes on F (*ga* in the psaltic scale) and minor modes on D (psaltic *pa*) are called *agem* and *hisar* respectively, from the *phthorai agem* and *hisar* (signs used in ecclesiastical chant to indicate the alteration of a step by half a rising tone).

[39] Ciobanu, *Anton Pann: Cîntece de lume*, 45.

[40] Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 220

[41] Brochure 4: 134, see Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 251 and 258.

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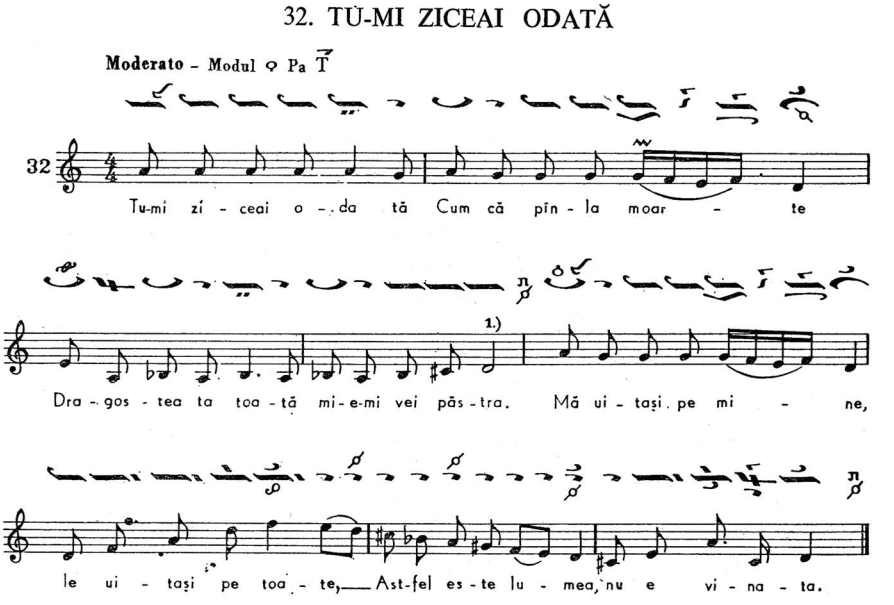
Ex. 2 'Tu-mi ziceai odată' (Thou once used to tell me), transcribed from the psaltic notation by Gheorghe Ciobanu in *Izvoare ale muzicii romanesti*, vol. 1, 251 and 258.



Music in the Home

In the spring of 1812, Count Auguste de Lagarde noted that at the table of Ban Brîncoveanu, the host's daughters 'play the piano and the harp, sing in Greek or Russian, and even dance'.[42] During another visit to a boyar of Bucharest, where one of the guests played 'Greek arias' on the piano, Lagarde noted that the meal was served 'in the French style'.

In 1818, physician William Macmichael,[43] a former student of Oxford University, arrived in Bucharest on his way from Moldavia to Constantinople. During a visit to the princely court, the prince and his daughters sat cross-legged on a divan; the guest witnessed promenades and card games. Around the year 1821, Laurençon noted that European music instruments were attracting increasing interest on the part of the nobility. He met violin, guitar, flute and piano teachers, who complained of the conceitedness of pupils who believed that once they learned to play a waltz or a quadrille they were consummate musicians.[44]

In the spring of 1824, Karl von Klausewitz, an adviser with the Danish legation, described the modest level of women's musical education, although it was of

[42] Auguste de Lagarde, *Voyage de Moscou à Vienne, par Kiew, Odessa, Constantinople, Bucarest et Hermannstadt ou lettres adressées à Jules Griffith* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1824), quoted by Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 455. 'Ban' is the title of a high administrative post among the ranks of the high boyars.

[43] William Macmichael, *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople in the Years 1817, 1818* (London: John Murray, 1819), cited in Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 462.

[44] Laurençon, *Nouvelles Observations*, 35–6.

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interest to women who influenced musical taste. He reports that Romanian women converse in French and dance the Polonaise, the waltz and English measures, as well as the local *horă* (ring dance).[45]

But by the 1830s, the dominant influences were French, as noted by Marc Girardin, a young writer and later professor at the Sorbonne, who arrived in Wallachia after travelling down the Danube from Germany in 1836.[46] Similarly, William Rey finds that the Romanian affinity with France was a cultural option: 'The Wallachian boyars have borrowed from the French everything that makes them closer to the peoples of the West'.[47] Rey observes that in idolizing Parisian fashions, the boyars believed that they could demonstrate their Latinity, but he also sees the educational side of things: in most families French was spoken with the same ease as Wallachian or Greek, and in most houses there were native French tutors, as is also confirmed by Stanislas Bellanger, who was in Bucharest in the same period.[48] Also in the 1830s, Frenchman Raoul Perrin wrote that Romanian women were 'excellent musicians' and conversed 'in a French as pure, correct and choice as that of the inhabitants of Blois'.[49]

Accounts of domestic musical practices signal the earliest penetration of Western influences, via the education of young ladies, who were either sent to boarding schools, where they learned music and 'modern' dances, or entrusted to private tutors hired from abroad.[50] The students or tutors kept handwritten notebooks of favourite musical pieces. Some are written in psaltic notation, others in linear notation, with the melodies usually being for piano.[51] Most of the notebooks that have been preserved in libraries in Romania date from the period 1830–1850, and they confirm the musical preferences described by travellers. The manuscript album *Chansons et Danses Grecques, Des Postreffes et Chanson Turque, Airs et Danses Wallaques composées [pour] le Piano-Forte*[52] illustrates the variety of the musical influences present in the private settings described in the travellers' accounts.

The album demonstrates the popularity of the Romanian *horă*, which was also mentioned by Clausewitz. *Hore* appear frequently in a lively $\frac{2}{4}$ metre, alongside

[45] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 492.

[46] He makes the following observation with regard to cultivated Romanians: 'Here [in Bucharest] French is spoken better than in Brussels.' He writes that in Iaşi there was a French theatre and that in Wallachia the educational system was based on French, which was taught as a classical language, see Saint-Marc Girardin, *Souvenirs de voyages et d'études* (Paris: Amyot, 1852–1853): vol. 1, 280–82.

[47] 'Les boyards valaques ont emprunté aux Français tout ce qui les rapproche des peuples de l'occident'. William Rey, *Autriche, Hongrie et Turquie*, 1839–1848 (Paris: Joel Cherbuliez): 207.

[48] Stanislas Bellanger, *Le Kéroutza. Voyage en Moldo-Valachie*, vol. 1 [the only volume published] (Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1846): 367.

[49] Raoul Perrin, *Coup d'oeil sur la Valachie et la Moldavie* (Paris: A. Dupont, 1839): 39, in Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 526.

[50] Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 17.

[51] The oldest manuscript of this type in linear notation that records Romanian and Western songs would seem to date from 1819; see Ciobanu, *Izvoare ale muzicii româneşti*, vol. 1, 18. The same author mentions Dionisie Fotino, a musician who settled in Bucharest around the year 1800, and who played oriental instruments (the *tambur* and *keman*), as well as the piano.

[52] Preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, Musical Collection, MS Rom 2575.

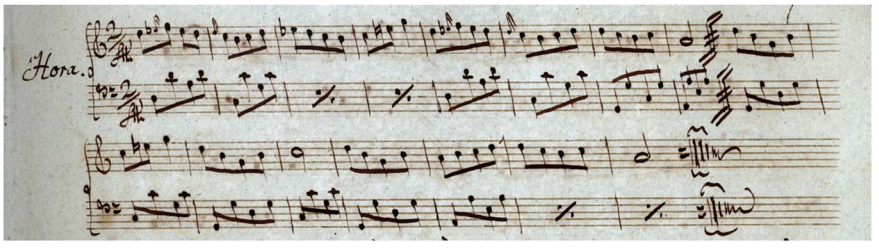
dances termed 'walaque' or songs that betray a *lăutar* origin. I shall look at a few of the Wallachian songs and dances, which convey the particularities of the local musical culture at that time.

The *horă* is the result of a cultural transfer from village to town. Along with the *Sîrbă* and the *Brîu* (a men's dance), it was one of the most widespread mixed-group folk dances in Wallachia. Most were danced in a circle or semi-circle: the dancers held each other's hands (in the *horă*) or laid their arms on each other's shoulders (in the *Sîrbă*[53]). The predominant metre of Romanian dances is binary,[54] and dances in ternary metres are regarded as being foreign imports. In the nineteenth century, *hore* in $\frac{6}{8}$ were typical of the towns. All the *horă* melodies reproduced in Examples 3–7 are in binary metres. Nevertheless, the rhythmic formulas are far from reproducing the variety that existed in regional folk music, and the same goes for the accompaniment. The most obvious specific feature is the modal scales. Given their exoticism, the melodies, which probably originated from the *lăutari*, posed problems for the composers when it came to harmonization, which was either solved awkwardly or avoided by monochromatic recourse to the Alberti bass.

Example 3 is a dance melody that is modal in nature, as is obvious from both the melody and the accompaniment. The scale employed is A minor with a mobile sixth that is altered in a descending pattern (identical with acoustic mode 3[55]).

The melody of the Wallachian dance in Example 4 is constructed on the note A.

Ex. 3 ***Hora*, from Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection, MS Rom 2575, 13r**



By upper alternation of F (=*fis*) in bars 5 and 7, there results a scale comprising two minor tetrachords (the Dorian mode). As noted above, binary metre is characteristic of Romanian dances.

Example 5 shows a mixture of formulas typical of exercises for pianistic dexterity (reminiscent of Czerny's études) with modal intonations drawn from the acoustic world of the *lăutari*. Bars 5 to 8 are constructed on a harmonic pentachord (D–A, with an augmented second between E♭ and F♯) followed by a 'Phrygian' minor second (D–C♯).

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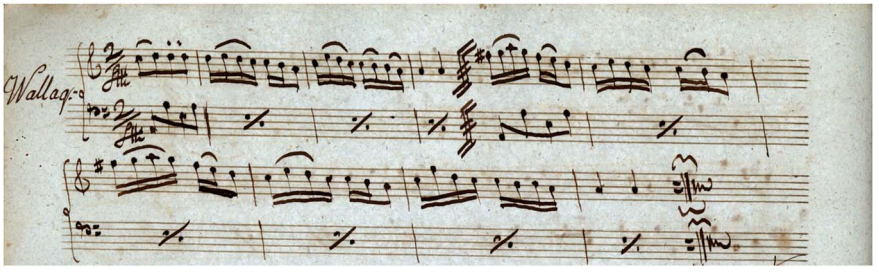
53 Oprea and Agapie, *Folclor muzical românesc*, 395.

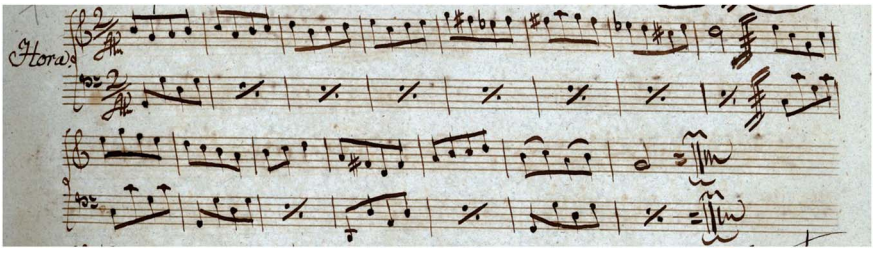
54 Oprea and Agapie, *Folclor muzical românesc*, 393.

55 In the theory of the modes in Romanian folk music, the acoustic modes constitute a separate system, as they are regarded as originating from natural resonance. The base mode (acoustic 1) is constructed on F with a lowered seventh (E♭). The other scales (acoustic 2–7) are built on natural scales based on G, respectively A, B, C, D, and E♭, each having an altered lowered note, namely an E♭.

Ex. 4 ***Wallaque*, from the manuscript album preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection MS Rom 2575, 13v**



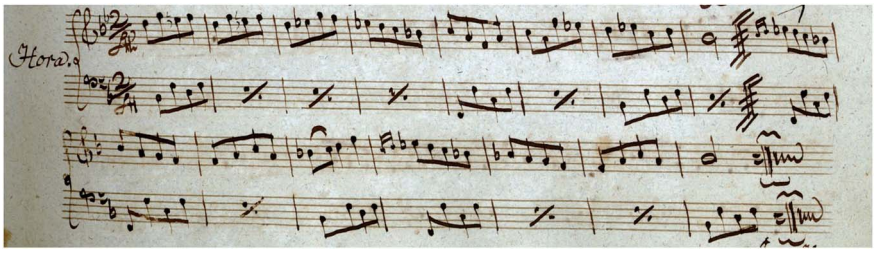
Ex. 5 ***Hora [1]*, from the manuscript album preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection MS Rom. 2575, 14r**



Likewise, in Example 6 (*Hora*), the alteration of E (*becar*, *bemol*) in bars 1 to 2 results in an augmented fourth (Lydian) in a scale constructed on B♭, the rest of the piece being diatonic, with the same feel of being a piano exercise grafted onto the formulas of a Romanian folk dance.

The modesty of the material and simplicity of such didactic pieces for dilettantes, is obvious in the pair of melodies with the titles 'Hora Nebunilor' (The Madmen's Hora) and the *horă* dedicated to Miss Săftica Bibescu (Ex. 7), an amateur musician from the family of Prince Gheorghe Bibescu, Prince of Wallachia from 1843 to 1848. The 'Madmen's Hora' was performed before and

Ex. 6 ***Hora [2]*, from the manuscript album preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection, MS Rom 2575, 14r**



after the *horă* dedicated to Miss Săftica. The minor harmonic is transformed by upper alteration of the third (mobile) stage into a harmonic major; modal colour is lent by the accompaniment, which seems to imitate a *lăutar taraf*.

The piece 'Între Olt și-ntre Olteț' ('Between Olt and the Little Olt', Ex. 8) is based on a quotation from a song that probably had a *parlando rubando*-type rhythmic

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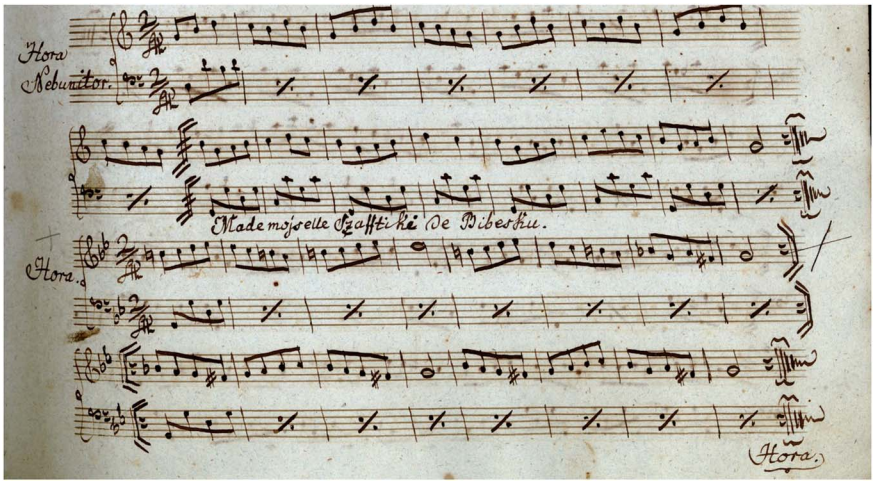
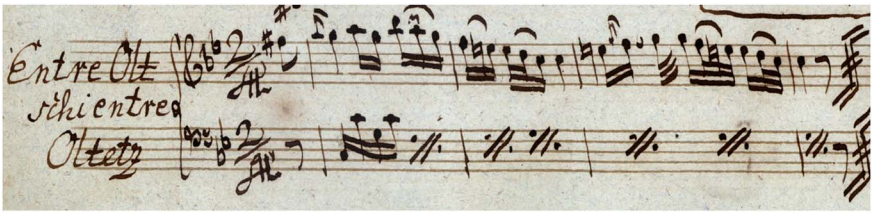
Ex. 7 ***Hora nebunilor*** **and** ***Hora Săftichii*****, from the manuscript album preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection MS Rom 2575, 16r**



development – an apparently free rhythm, frequently found in syllabic (recitative, cantabile or melismatic) melodies. Characteristic of this rhythm is the augmentation and diminution of notes, punctuated values, metrically indivisible units of time, improvised elongations and shortenings,[56] with durations therefore determined by the nature of the melodic line, and, in the case of vocal pieces, lyrics.

Piano exercises of this type provide a suggestive illustration of the preferences of amateur musicians from the Bucharest of the 1830s. Besides the samples we have briefly examined, MS Rom 2575 contains more than 60 short arrangements of songs and dances for piano, including pieces whose title points to a Greek original, along with Wallachian pieces, an Albanian song ('Kintika Arnautcek', 3r), a Turkish

Ex. 8 **'Între Olt și-ntre Olteț', from the manuscript album preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Musical Collection MS Rom 2575, 7v**



pestref ('Pestreffe turque', 3v–6v), and society dances whose titles seem to have been specially chosen to demonstrate the cosmopolitanism of the salons: two *krakowiaki*, eight *ecossaises*, three waltzes, a polonaise, a *kalamajka*, an *anglaise*, and so forth. With the exception of the ceremonial Turkish *pestref*, which stretches to seven pages, the pieces are no longer than two or three staves, but despite the simplicity of their form and content, they display remarkable melodic variety. To the diversity of the types of ethnic music with which Wallachian pupils were familiar may also be added the

[56] Oprea and Agapie, *Folclor muzical românesc*, 96–7.

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Western elements to be found in manuscript albums such as this one, in the form of not only society dances but also the texts of melodies hand notated in the original French or German, languages spoken by the pupils.

Music at Weddings and Balls, in Clubs and Cafés

The same diversity held sway at public musical events and at the boyars' large parties. To return to the travellers' accounts, Frenchman Lagarde recounts among other things a Greek dance performed at a wedding, with dancers 'whirling on the spot and holding their hands above their heads'.[57]

Recordon describes a betrothal party on the day before a wedding, at the house of a Wallachian boyar. The ceremony includes songs celebrating the bride's chastity, to the accompaniment of two violins, two 'Turkish guitars', a flute and a tambourine. On the wedding day, after the ceremony in church, the celebrations continue day and night until the third day, by which time the wedding guests are exhausted. The ceremony of 'coiffing the bride' (the coiffure appropriate to a maiden is undone and then rearranged in the style befitting a married woman) is also performed in front of all the guests.[58]

Englishman Robert Ker Porter travelled from the Danube to Bucharest across Wallachia in 1820. He attended a ball to which the princely family were also invited. The concert consisted of professional violinists, occasionally accompanied by amateur performers. But the guests in general paid little attention to this part of the entertainment; they employed themselves in adjoining rooms, playing cards, smoking pipes and drinking punch. Then, 'when the ball began, the huge caps of the boyars were thrown off; their splendid pelisses followed the same fate; and each former inhabitant of such panoply of vast magnificence, appeared by the side of his intended partner, in a smart tasty jacket of red, grey, or other colours, fancifully embroidered'.[59] The dances were Greek and Wallachian. During some of them, the company 'danced, jumped, whirled and clapped their hands'.[60] Around a decade later, Perrin mentions that the quadrille and mazurka as preferred at dances and masked balls.[61]

Arriving in Bucharest with high-society recommendations from his diplomat uncle, Stanislas Bellanger spent a few months in the city in 1836.[62] The traveller recounts his visit to the salon of a Bucharest society lady, where boyars stretched out on divans gravely smoked hookahs, while Albanian servants 'in glittering costumes' waited on them. In the corners, young girls chatted together in French, and elegant women kept up with the latest fashions with a copy of *Follet* open on their knees.[63] At another soirée Bellanger was surprised during

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[57] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 455.

[58] Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie*, 93–4. The moment signifies the bride's assumption of the status of wife; in Moldavia, rather than the alteration of the bride's coiffure, her veil was removed and replaced with the headscarf befitting a married woman. The ceremony was accompanied by singing and dancing; see Oprea and Agapie, *Folclor muzical românesc*, 230.

[59] Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia etc., etc., during the years 1817,1818, 1819 and 1820*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), in Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 465.

[60] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 466.

[61] Perrin, *Coup d'oeil*, cited in Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 526

[62] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 532.

[63] Stanislas Bellanger, *Le Kéroutza*, 373–4. *Le Follet, Courrier des Salons* was a fashion journal published from 1829 in Paris.

the meal to hear 'une musique âcre et discordante' struck up by a Gypsy orchestra in the adjoining room. The hosts were enchanted, but the guest applauded only out of politeness. After a while, the ball began and the quadrille was danced.[64]

Also in the mid-1830s, Anatol Demidov was invited to the country house of Alexandru Ghica,[65] where he was entertained in the garden by 'Gypsies who played well for dancing'.[66] At a ball given by Ban Filipescu, the host 'still wears the *beniş*, over which his white beard spreads',[67] but at the theatre, where a performance of Rossini's *Semiramidis* is given, the prince appears in a frock coat.

Whereas in private homes, dance music might be performed on a piano, at balls and parties such melodies were performed by instrumental ensembles, either a *taraf* of *lăutari* or an orchestra of Western instruments. As far as public places of entertainment are concerned, Recordon mentions an aristocrats' club, granted a privilege by the prince, where cards and billiards were played and unmarried girls danced wearing masks. The club met twice a week during the winter months.[68] It was also in this period that Laurençon visited a *club noble* or *casino*, where the quadrille and other dances were danced.[69] Robert Walsh was also aware of the Wallachian cabarets frequented by the boyars, where women danced and sang and 'une extrème dissolution des mœurs'[70] was to be found. Likewise, Macmichael describes the balls held at a club where German actors performed a poor farce before the boyars, who translated it into Greek for themselves. The men wore Greek costume, while the women wore European modes, with girdles and slippers fashionable in Constantinople. In Bucharest, Demidov was also invited to the 'nobles' club'.[71]

In the 1850s, French university professor Ulysse de Marsillac, employed by the Bucharest Military School, recalled performances and concerts at the Salle Bossel[72] and Salle Slătineanu,[73] the second of which was popular for masked balls. European 'light' music became popular thanks to promenade concerts in parks and gardens (for example the highly successful concerts given

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[64] Bellanger, *Le Kéroutza*, 387, 394.

[65] Alexandru Ghica (1796–1862) was Prince of Wallachia between 1834 and 1842 and *caimacam* (locum tenens of the Prince) between 1856 and 1858.

[66] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 528–9.

[67] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 529. The *beniş* is a long, fur-lined, ceremonial coat with large split sleeves worn by boyars and their wives; see Monica-Mihaela Busuioc, *Dicţionar de arhaisme* (Bucharest: All educational, 2005–2007): 31.

[68] Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie*, 90–91.

[69] Laurençon, *Nouvelles Observations*, 37.

[70] 'An extreme dissoluteness of morals'; Walsh, *Voyage de Constantinople en Angleterre*, 26.

[71] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 528.

[72] The first theatre in Bucharest was known as the 'Theatre by the Red Drinking Fountain' and was built in 1817 at the behest of Ralu Caragea (the youngest daughter of Prince Ioan Caragea). After the building was destroyed in a fire in 1825, Saxon upholsterer Friedrich Bossel built an inn on Podul Mogoşoaiei, which had a ballroom and theatre known as the Salle Bossel, where masked balls were held two or three times a week in the late 1830s; the theatre had 22 boxes, 330 places in the stalls and a balcony; see Olteanu, *Bucureştii în date şi întâmplări*, 131–2, 137, 150.

[73] The name given to the Momolo Theatre, after the name of Iordache Slătineanu, head of the prince's chancellery, and the owner of the land on which it had been built.

by Ludwig Anton Wiest in the Cişmigiu and Raşca gardens), balls and festivities. In 1840 the Swiss community in Bucharest laid the foundations of the Union Suisse, which under the name Salle Union would endure in the city's memory as a much-loved music venue even after the Swiss club ceased to function on the premises, which were hired out in summer for performances and café concerts.[74]

The Urban Periphery

At the same time, the urban periphery remained the preserve of the *lăutari*. Recordon relates that the Gypsies, who have 'beaucoup d'adresse et de dispositions … particulièrement pour la musique' (plentiful skill and inclinations, particularly for music), play melodies and dances on the violin and other instruments which they fashion for themselves.[75] He sees European cafés and cafés *à la manière turque*, which persons of a 'certain rank' do not frequent, where the silence is broken by Gypsy music and dancing, by jugglers and acrobats, whose contortions and indecent grimaces entertain the clientele.[76]

According to the account of Austrian Ludwig von Stürmer, who passed through Bucharest on his way to Constantinople in 1816, the main entertainment of the boyars was card games and carriage rides along the shore of Lake Herăstrău, among the vineyards and gardens, while 'the ordinary man enjoys the music played by the Gypsies, who are capable of learning "even the most difficult arias"'.[77]

In Giurgiu in the 1830s, Russian prince Anatol Demidov, who was later to marry Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, witnessed a nocturnal concert of Gypsy music, where a *horă* was danced.[78] More than a decade later, Parisian architect Felix Pigéory describes a scene that he witnessed on the road from Giurgiu to Bucharest: a crowd of tattered singers and musicians were performing in an inn and 'despite the late hour there was a hubbub impossible to describe; Turks, Albanians, Wallachians and Gypsies played the violin, the tambourine and some kind of infernal bagpipes, singing, screaming, cackling things that cannot be named in any language'.[79]

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[74] Olteanu, *Bucureştii în date şi întâmplări*, 152.

[75] Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie*, 54.

[76] In the large towns of the Ottoman Empire there is frequent mention of acrobats, clowns and jesters at fairs and courts, a species of entertainment apparently adopted from the Byzantine Empire, where it had been widespread; see Rudolf M. Brandl, 'Türkische, armenische, griechische und aromunische Hochzeiten in Reiseberichten des XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhunderts', in *Contexts of Musicology*, ed. Maciej Jablonski, et al., vol. 1 (Poznan: Ars Nova, 1997): 127.

[77] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 458.

[78] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 528.

[79] 'malgré l'heure avancée il s'y faisait un vacarme impossible à décrire; des Turcs, des Albanais, des Valaques, des Bohémiens jouaient du violon, du tambour de basque, de je ne sais quelle infernale cornemuse, chantaient, hurlaient, gloussaient des choses qui ne peuvent avoir de nom dans aucune langue'; Félix Pigéory, *Les Pèlerins d'Orient. Lettres artistiques et historiques sur un voyage dans les provinces danubiennes, la Turquie, la Syrie et la Palestine avec mission du Gouvernement* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1854): 11. Pigéory had been entrusted with the mission of studying monuments from the time of the crusades in the Middle East and Greece.

At the Theatre

At the theatre, foreign travellers became acquainted with another facet of the city. In 1818, there was a German theatre company in the city, which gave four performances weekly in an auditorium that usually served as a club and seated 1,000.[80] Despite the fact that few members of Bucharest society spoke German, they displayed an unexpected interest in the stage. Some of the plays were in demotic Greek, translated from French authors. Laurençon was also impressed by Bucharest's small theatre,[81] where he watched a performance by an Italian company in the autumn of 1820, not long before the revolt led by Tudor Vladimirescu swept the city, in 1821.

The almanac of the Wallachian Court for the year 1838[82] records three theatres in Bucharest financed by Alexandru Ghica, the ruling Prince of Wallachia: a 'national theatre' directed by Professor Aristias of the St Sava College,[83] a German theatre registered as an 'operatic society', and a French theatre ('Société de drames, comédies et vaudevilles'), directed by Ignaz Frisch.

Édouard Antoine Thouvenel, who would serve as the French Foreign Minister from 1860 to 1862, describes an evening at the opera in Bucharest in his account of his visit to the city in 1840.[84] A month before his arrival, the vaudeville *Le Marriage de Raison* by Scribe and Varner had been performed in the city, with the lead being played by Paolo Cervatti, a 'tenor of the Italian opera'. Thouvenel watched a programme of pieces from the Italian opera, including a 'cavatine del Pirato', 'del Furioso' and 'grands airs' from 'il Themistocle', probably the opera by Giovanni Pacini first performed in 1823. The theatre building was nothing more than a large wooden structure, albeit well furbished inside.[85] The audience had gathered 'au grand complet': the women, dressed according to the latest fashion, gracefully showed off their glittering jewels, and the men, with very few exceptions, wore Western costume. Thouvenel saw officers in parade uniform covered in braid strutting in front of the ladies and Prince Ghica taking his seat in a theatre box

[80] 'millier de personnes'; François Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie*, 92.

[81] The Theatre by the Red Drinking Fountain; see note 72.

[82] *Almanach de la cour et de l'Ètat de la Principauté de Valachie pour 1838*, 3ème année (Bucharest: Frédéric Walbaum, 1838): 309.

[83] Constantin (Costache) Aristia (1800–1880) was a Greek actor, writer, drama teacher and translator who took part in revolutionary activities of 1821 and 1848.

[84] Èdouard-Antoine Thouvenel, *La Hongrie et la Valachie, souvenirs de voyage et notices historiques* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1840), republished by Philippe Gardette in *Les cahiers du Bosphore* XXXIII (Istanbul: Les Éditions Isis, 2004): 90.

[85] The auditorium Thouvenel describes has the appearance of being makeshift. It was probably the Momolo Theatre, built by Italian Eronimo Momolo in 1828, on Bucharest's most elegant street, Podul Mogoşoaiei. Momolo had been cook to Prince Grigore IV Ghica between 1822 and 1828, and was an entrepreneur and director of the Italian theatre company. The Momolo Theatre, also known as the Old Theatre and the Small Theatre, had a small box by the stage for the prince, an upper-storey row of boxes for members of high society, and 15 rows of benches covered with cambric in the stalls. There was also a gallery of seven steps with bare benches. In 1836–37, Momolo built a ballroom next to the theatre, a 'club' that would remain fashionable for decades (in the 1840s a tax was even levied on public balls) and was later rivalled by the Salle Bossel. Around the same period, work began on the building of a new theatre, designed by Viennese architect Josef Heft in an imposing historicist style. The Grand Theatre was inaugurated in 1852 in the presence of Prince Barbu Ştirbei (r. 1848–53 and 1854–56), with a performance of original pieces composed and conducted by kapellmeister Ioan Andrei Wachmann.

upholstered in red damask. Paolo Cervatti, 'petit lombard fort replet', and 'Mme Wis, Allemande de même encolure', tackled the most demanding arias of Donizetti and Bellini, earning thunderous applause. In the interludes, the performers' merits became a topic of argument, and the author notes, 'presque toutes ces conversations avaient lieu en français' (almost all these conversations took place in French). Meanwhile, in the stalls, the audience was made up of 'le plus singulière mélange de Grécs, d'Arméniens et de Bulgares' (the most singular mixture of Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians).

In the mid-1850s, E.N. Hénocque-Melleville described the theatre as

> perfectly laid out inside; the foyer above all, without displaying unnecessary luxury, was decorated in a taste that left nothing to be desired … The sets were masterfully designed. Italian operas enjoy the privilege of being the only ones performed. Mlle Corbary, the prima donna, was judged and appreciated at her full talent by a Wallachian public that takes the love of art to the point of fanaticism.[86]

In unison with other travellers, Hénocque-Melleville comments on the same 'goûts et usages françaises' not only in the theatre, but also in ladies' modes, in the opulent luxury 'the same as in London and Paris'[87] and the fashion for carriage rides 'à la Chaussée'.[88]

Conclusions

To return to the question that opened this article: how did the effects of musical transferrals from the West shape the taste of Bucharest society in the nineteenth century? By the 1830s, not all individual styles held the same significance or enjoyed the same public approval. Greek-Turkish chamber and military music was abandoned soon after the turn of the 1830s; the interest in 'worldly songs' would last until the 1860s.[89] All considered, the coexistence of diverse styles – folk, Levantine, Byzantine ecclesiastical and Western music – among the social elite effected a unique transition to a European way of life.

Sources from the first decades of the nineteenth century, situate the musical habits of the Romanian boyars at the intersection of the Levantine world (a mixture of Greek, Turkish, Wallachian etc.) and the rustic milieu. The boyar wedding described by Recordon shows that some peasant folk traditions with ancient roots were preserved among the aristocracy.[90] Yet, the Greek dance

[86] 'parfaitement organisée à l'intérieur; le foyer surtout, sans posséder un luxe inutile et couteaux, a été décoré avec un goût qui ne laisse rien à désirer … Les décors sont faits de main de maître. Les opéras italiens ont le privilège d'y être seuls joués … M-lle Corbary, comme première chanteuse, a été jugée et appréciée dans tout son talent par le publique valaque, qui pousse jusqu'au fanatisme l'amour de l'art'; E.N. Hénocque-Melleville, *Six mois en Valachie, (1854–1855): mœurs, coutumes des principautés; La Grèce; L'influence de la Russie en Orient; Souvenirs* (Compiègne: E. François et F. Valliez, 1855): 16.

[87] E.N. Hénocque-Melleville, *Six mois en Valachie*, 17.

[88] A street fringed with woods at the entrance to Bucharest, where the elite used to take carriage rides.

[89] See Nicolescu, *Manuscrisul Ucenescu: Cânturi*.

[90] The coiffing of the bride was an old Romanian custom accompanied by songs (practised in villages at peasant weddings). Another source records the custom of the marriage procession, matchmaking and strewing the road to the bride's house with fir branches (see Djuvara, *Intre Orient şi Occident*: 128). The fir branch symbolizes eternal life in rites of passage (weddings, funerals, the New Year).

described by Lagarde in roughly the same period points to the integration of foreign, and in particular Greek, elements at wedding celebrations. At balls, the boyars danced in oriental costume and Gypsy orchestras also played. We may therefore conclude that in contrast to the Western- and Central-European nobility, whose musical canons of taste were strict, Romanian boyars during the 'old regime' fostered flexible norms in their handling of music. They were receptive to the Other and permitted relative closeness to multi-ethnic and even 'lower-class' music. Consequently, pluralism did not lead to the fragmentation or segmentation of society, but to inter-ethnicity, a situation in which the musicians and audience belonged to different ethnic groups. There was a similar situation in the towns of the late Ottoman Empire, constituting what Rudolf Brandl calls 'supra-regional urban music'.[91]

Likewise, theatre-going, clubs, card games and private music tuition for children point to the inroads made by the Western lifestyle in Romanian aristocratic circles prior to 1821. 'High' society displayed a marked interest in Western culture (see for example Macmichael's 1818 account of the boyars who translate into Greek the German text of the play performed at their club), albeit one restricted by political bounds. Being chiefly a female occupation, music in the home was the first to be westernized, and western elements co-existed with Greek, Wallachian and other elements in a stylized, aesthetic setting.

Later, in the 1830–50 transition period, audiences of educated city-dwellers seem to have been divided into different groups according to their separate tastes. Faced with a strong influx of foreign (both European and non-European) elements, music lovers were able to sample the various musical styles on offer and select their own favourite repertoire. This freedom of choice seems to have been a gain that came after the 1820s, and would have been hard to imagine in Phanariot Bucharest. Ethnomusicologist Gheorghe Ciobanu links 'salon music' to the 'cosmopolitan tastes' of the young boyars and 'worldly songs' to the 'popular tastes' of the lower middle class.[92] Others (e.g. Ion Ghica and Vasile Alecsandri, who mention that the young boyars had a taste for 'worldly songs'[93]) argue that such categorizations are relative. Consequently, stratification according to the boyar or the middle class is of only partial assistance in distinguishing categories of audience. It is obvious that other factors, such as age, gender, education, intercultural experience and ethnic origin influenced musical choices considerably. The elderly, men and the urban periphery still preferred 'older' music (such as 'worldly songs' or '*muzică lăutărească*'); women, young people, who had been educated in the West, and the immigrant bourgeoisie adopted Western musical tastes. The 1830s to 1850s were therefore characterized by wide musical variety, with the various social sub-groups responding positively or negatively to the different styles on offer.

At odds with what has been presented up to this point is Thouvenel's account of his evening at the opera in 1840, quoted above: in the boxes, the elevated public spoke French, while in the stalls the audience was made up of merchants of various Balkan and Eastern ethnic groups. In the setting described, categories apparently different in social rank, spoken language and costume make the

[91] See Brandl, *Türkische, armenische, griechische und aromunische Hochzeiten*, 115–34.

[92] Ciobanu, *Anton Pann: Cîntece de lume*, 29–30.

[93] Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri* (Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1967): 155. Vasile Alecsandri in *Zimbrul*, vol. 1 (Iaşi, 1850–51): 249, quoted from Nicolae Gheorghiţă, 'Anton Pann şi zvonul oriental al cântecelor din străvechiul Bucureşti', in Anton Pann, *Spitalul amorului*, xi.

same musical choice, namely Italian opera. This points to two interesting refinements of the picture.

First, it may be concluded that the boundaries of taste between the boyars (also including the upper-middle class) and the lower-middle class were not watertight, but permeable, perhaps as a result of an education oriented towards similar values. It is known that in this period, while the sons of the boyars travelled to study in Europe, many merchants and tradesmen sent their children to the schools of Bucharest,[94] which were undergoing reform. French was taught from 1832 at the prestigious St Sava College by Professor Jean Alexandre Vaillant (1804–1886), whose wife ran a school for girls. In 1833, the Philharmonic Society was founded.[95] At the Philharmonic Society, Ioan Andrei Wachmann ran a free public school teaching vocal and instrumental music. By the end of its first year (1835–36), the school had succeeded in giving the first operatic performance in Romanian (Rossini's *Semiramidis*).

Second, Thouvenel's account points to an interesting phenomenon of inversion of the conventions pertaining to costume.[96] Only the ethnic origin of the townsfolk, the small traders and petty bourgeois, could still be determined by their costume. Nevertheless, some were beginning to adopt European costume ('the garb of equality'), which erased outward differences between the classes and different ethnic groups. Clothes did not make the man, but they could conceal him.[97] Motley ethnic costume pointed to a more modest social standing, while the European costume and impeccable French accents of the audience in the theatre boxes concealed from the traveller their real origins: they belonged to the upper classes, but as we have demonstrated, their roots were partly multi-ethnic. The criterion of difference was in fact money: not ethnic background, but the ticket price made the difference between a box and the stalls.

The performance of European music and dances at balls and celebrations signalled greater openness to the West in the 1840s. In this context, it was an ideological factor that contributed to the homogenization of musical consumption. In the first decades of the century, the (predominantly non-Romanian)

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[94] Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie a românilor povestită celor tineri* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1999): 141.

[95] The *Societatea Filarmonică* was a cultural group founded by the future revolutionaries of 1848 and run by Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Ion Cîmpineanu and Costache Aristia.

[96] A generation before, beards and oriental costume were the preserve of the high boyars. Now, oriental costume found favour with the middle class and petty bourgeoisie: for example, the *beniş* began to be worn by merchants, servants and Gypsy musicians. Likewise, the *anteriu*, the caftan previously worn only by boyars, became an archaic-looking costume characteristic of *lăutari*. By 1834, Prince Alexandru Ghica had established the new vestimentary regime for high dignitaries. Those who possessed the old costume, continued to wear it; those who did not, dressed in the European style. It was also in this period that the boyars who held high offices (ministries) were required to shave their beards, which ceased to be a privilege and a status symbol, see Olteanu, *Bucureştii în date şi întâmplări*, 144.

[97] The costume gives rise to confusion, comical situations exploited in the theatre of the 1830s–1850s: dressed in the European style, the boyars no longer have the stately gait or presence their servants were used to; the masters are taken for carters, functionaries or tutors. Clothes as an 'instrument of deception' make it hard to distinguish at first sight between the 'true' noble and the parvenu, between the boyar and the tradesman, between men of 'standing' and arrivistes, fraudsters, adventurers etc.; see Cazimir, *Alfabetul de tranziţie*, 43–4.

middle class did not have any sentiment of belonging to a 'class' and was not involved in politics. The middle class did not therefore form a 'national' bourgeoisie.[98] The consciousness of belonging to a particular social category and to a nation was to be shaped in the decades that followed, and after two or three generations some of the descendants of families that had immigrated before 1821 regarded themselves as assimilated within the Romanian nation.[99] People of culture, including musicians (regardless of ethnic origin), supported the national ideal, and in the multi-cultural city the central concern of the intelligentsia was to confer a sentiment of individual identity upon the nation.

The European model that was regarded as the gateway to 'civilization' was Latin in general and French in particular.[100] French cultural influence was adopted by the upper class and bourgeoisie as a 'second identity'. And the nation's centre of gravity, given the ethnic mixture of the cities, was to be identified with the villages, where 81.2 per cent of Romania's population lived around the end of the nineteenth century.[101]

The boyars' tastes therefore ceased to be 'flexible'. In terms of Bourdieu's theory of social distinction, Western music and knowledge of European languages (particularly French) became a symbol of education and wealth, and thus an indicator of social status. From the moment Romanians adopted the European value system, their musical preferences began to be regulated by the aesthetic norms proper to Western culture. In particular, the music provided by uneducated (mostly Gypsy) minstrels was no longer acceptable except conditionally. In the 1850s, Vasile Alecsandri wrote with a certain detachment about the boyars' custom of entertaining guests with folk musicians: 'although it seems to us rather indecent, such was the custom of old and we must needs respect it'.[102] *Lăutar* melodies were now stylized in piano collections for a salon public,[103] thus confirming their popularity. In parallel, a segment of the intellectual class engaged in abolitionist politics, which would lead to the emancipation of the Gypsy slaves between 1843 and 1855.

At this stage, the audience for musical theatre underwent a further stratification, choosing its preferences from *within* the European repertoire. Simplistically, it might be said that the taste of more sophisticated urban audiences tended towards Italian opera, while ordinary people found entertainment in operetta and Romanian-language theatre. However, there have been no wide-ranging, systematic studies on this subject.[104]

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[98] Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie a românilor* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1999): 141.

[99] In the mid-1860s it is observed that the 'social [layer] of the oriental-style tradesmen and merchants of the previous epoch was dissolving; a part of the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians repatriated themselves … a part was assimilated by the Romanians and together with them constituted the political and administrative class of the new Romanian state', quoted from *Enciclopedia României*, 556–7.

[100] Lucian Boia, *Istorie şi mit în conştiinţa românească* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011): 70.

[101] Boia, *Istorie şi mit*, 66.

[102] Alecsandri, *Zimbrul*, vol.1 (Iaşi, 1850–51): 249.

[103] See for example, Ioan Andrei Wachmann, *Roumania: Recueil de Danses et d'Airs Valaques originaux* (Vienna: H.F. Müller, [no year]); *L'Echo de la Valachie. Chansons populaires Roumains* (Vienna: H.F. Müller, [no year]); *Les Bords du Danube. Chansons et Danses Roumains* (Vienna: Wessely & Büsing, [no year]).

[104] Elena Zottoviceanu argues that such a stratification is inaccurate: 'there was actually a non-homogeneous and diverse public, whose stratification resulted from many other factors, besides the class to which one belonged'; see 'Reflecţii pe marginea procesului de

Musical preferences changed concomitantly with changes in the structure of the Bucharest bourgeoisie as a whole, which after 1864 underwent a renewal. Boyar privileges (for example, exemption from taxes) were abolished, and urban society was restructured according to bourgeois criteria (property and education) and along the lines of new social categories: large landowners, politicians, university-educated professionals (lawyers, physicians, teachers, pharmacists, etc.), and functionaries.[105] Immigrants (according to census of 1878, the majority were Austrian subjects, including Romanians, Saxons, Hungarians and Jews from Transylvania, as well as other regions of the Habsburg Empire) were to contribute to the development of Romanian musical life. Italian, French, German and Hungarian theatre companies toured Romanian theatres.[106] Naturalized foreign musicians and entrepreneurs (publishers, printers, merchants, musical impresarios) were active in Bucharest, some of them over the course of many generations. The repertoire was European, and Italian composers were at times dominant, for example Rossini in the 1820s and Verdi in the 1850s. The dates of premieres reveal how Bucharest was synchronized with the pulse of the times: Bellini's *Montecchi and Capuletti* (Venice 1830, Bucharest 1834); Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (Paris 1831, Bucharest 1835); Verdi's *Rigoletto* (Venice 1851, Bucharest 1854), and so on.[107]

The most significant drivers of this change had of course been institutions: the conservatoire, concert societies and musical theatre. They drew not only the attention of professional musicians interested in the opportunities offered by an emerging musical market, but also the energies of intellectuals and boyars' sons passionate about music, one example being George Stephănescu, who was to sell his ancestral estate to finance from his own pocket the Romanian-language opera company he founded in 1885.

What became of the old, multi-ethnic repertoire, previously exemplified by worldly songs and fiddler music? This repertoire continued to exist; it addressed an audience that was increasingly on the 'periphery', but it was to inspire musical works belonging to both 'high culture' and 'popular culture'. On the one hand, what had been acceptable within the circles of the urban centre was relegated to the margins of the city, a path followed by the Turkish term *mahalle* (Romanian *mahala*, pl. *mahalale*) itself: before 1830, the word had denoted a central or marginal urban district, but it later came to mean solely the urban periphery, with connotations of coarseness and vulgarity, in contrast to the cosmopolitanism and

constituire a unui public muzical românesc în secolul al XIX-lea', in *Popasuri în trecutul muzicii româneşti: Studii* (Bucharest: Editura muzicală, 2006): 199–202.

[105] An analysis from 1938 describes the changes as follows: 'The economic sector becomes almost exclusively foreign, being left in the hands of elements brought to Romania by the westward turn of the economy: Jewish, German and Hungarian immigrants from Austria', who replace the predominantly Balkan minorities of previous decades, which had in the meantime been partly assimilated, partly repatriated. *Enciclopedia României*, vol. 2, quoted Majuru, *Bucureştii mahalalelor*, 152.

[106] Besides Romanian theatre professionals Costache Caragiale, Costache Aristia, Costache Halepiu, Matei Millo and Mihail Pascaly, there were also French opera directors in Bucharest (Paul Hette, the brothers Baptiste and Joseph Fourreaux), Italian impresarios (Basilio Sansoni, Paolo Papanicola), and German-speaking natives (Johann Gerger, Eduard Kreibig, Theodor Müller, Josephine Uhlich, Maria Theresa and Ignaz Frisch, Henrietta Karl).

[107] Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii româneşti*, vol. 3, *Preromantismul, 1823–1859* (Bucharest: Editura muzicală, 1975): 269.

modernization represented by the centre.[108] While manners imported from the French-speaking West lent a note of internationalism to the lifestyle of wealthy city-dwellers, their distance from ethnically mixed peripheral world became increasingly pronounced. Quasi-popular Greek, Turkish, Albanian, and Gypsy influences became coarser and were viewed pejoratively and as out of date. In other words, they became typical expressions of 'Balkanism',[109] associated not only with a low level of education, but also with negative moral traits, such as triviality, violence, promiscuity and vulgarity. Remnants of the Constantinopolitan heritage survived modestly in the precarious world of the *mahalale*, which perpetuated the memory of a musicality excluded from higher cultural registers (at least in its raw form, unpolished by the tools of professional artistry).

On the other hand, the old non-Western musical heritage underwent a metamorphosis, a re-evaluation within the field of 'high culture'. The attention paid to the exotic by composers such as Liszt and later Bizet and Brahms placed South-East European 'popular music' within the context of 'art music', allowing the elites 'elevated' access to a musics now shunned in their 'raw' form. By the end of the nineteenth century, when the public had become a concert-going audience, *lăutar* music gained a new acceptance within the framework of musical orientalism. From this viewpoint, modernization brought not a levelling or uniformity, but rather a re-conceptualization of the traditional within a professionalized artistic language that the Romanian public was gradually to discover and assimilate.

Some nineteenth-century Romanian artists would seek ways to integrate the ethnic dimension in literature, painting and music using means similar to those of Romanticism. For example, chromatic modes occur as a separate pigment of 'fairy enchantment' in operettas, among which *Old Woman Hîrca* by Alexandru Flechtenmacher (which premiered at the Momolo Theatre in 1850) also thematized the exploitation of Gypsies. The topic of the *lăutari*, accompanied by quotations from minstrels' songs, appears in the stage 'canzonetta' *Barbu Lăutaru* (*Barbu the Lăutar*) by Flechtenmacher, a setting of a play by Vasile Alecsandri. Fiddlers supplied stage music with countless dance melodies, songs of yearning or mourning, brisk finales and atmospheric musical interludes. Yet as early as the 1830s, it is possible to detect satirical, parodic notes directed both at 'orientalism' and 'Frenchifying' (the 'can-can' is employed with a satirical meaning in vaudevilles[110]).

'In a country where music was confused with *lăutăria* [the trade of the folk musician, or *lăutar*], a young man required true fanaticism to dedicate his life to a thorny musical career', wrote Mihail Jora in 1937,[111] looking back on the founding of the George Enescu Composition Prize (1913) as a significant step towards stimulating inter-war Romanian music creation. Only one century had passed since travellers described the incipient interest of the boyar class in Western music. Viewed from the interior the change seemed too slow, and many wondered whether a reform had really taken place – or merely a simulacrum of reform:

[108] Majuru, *Bucureştii mahalalelor*, 8.

[109] Nicolae Creţu, 'Balcanism', in *Dicţionarul general al literaturii române*, vol. A/B (Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2005): 330, column 1.

[110] For example, in the tableau of the ball in *Coana Chiriţa la Iaşi* (Lady Chiriţa in Iaşi) by Alexandru Flechtenmacher, after the play by Vasile Alecsandri. See Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii româneşti*, vol. III, 294.

[111] Mihail Jora, 'Constantin Silvestri, laureatul premiului de compoziţie "George Enescu"', in *Momente muzicale* (Bucharest: Ed. muzicală, 1968): 87–8.

Romanians may have changed their costume, but not their 'bad habits'; they were attracted more by the glitter of the West than by bourgeois morals or, as *Junimist*[112] criticism would have it, more by the forms than the content. They colluded in the 'equivocal' and 'intermediate', in a *sine die* state of transition. In the dialectic of history, with its crises and regresses, Romanians were 'condemned' to stagnate between epochs and civilizations, without really belonging to any of them.

Nevertheless, musical preferences show that the mentality had changed: the educated public of the late nineteenth century viewed pre-1821 musical habits through a lens similar to the travellers of former times. At weddings and celebrations, 'oriental' or 'Balkan' influences seemed like splashes of exotic colour, bizarreries or archaisms, and perhaps also reminiscences of an ever more remote and consequently increasingly idealized past. Audiences had different reference points, preferences and expectations. In spite of the differences between the centre and the periphery, between village and town, the nineteenth century had proven to be one of accumulations and assimilations. The presence of foreigners in the life of the capital attested in fact to its prosperity and vitality. The newly founded institutions, an education system modelled on that of the West and freedom of movement and communication, had left a lasting mark, bringing, despite misgivings, a change not only in the form but also in the content of Romanian society.

[112] *Junimea* was a literary society founded by intellectuals from Iaşi in 1863, which launched the literary and intellectual movement of the same name; the society was also active in Bucharest as well as Iaşi from 1874, and in Bucharest alone from 1885 until its disestablishment in 1944. Literary critic Titu Maiorescu, one of its leading members, put forward in his theory of 'forms without content', a passionate critique of the institutions that aimed to modernize Romanian culture in that period.